

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE majority in Congress have for good reasons been slow in getting to work upon the business of the session. In the first place, they are divided among themselves as to what the business should be, and whether an early adjournment is desirable or not. Then, as regards the cause of the extra session, the Democratic ascendancy in the House is too feeble to make compromise out of the question; and it is clear that the objectionable riders of the two appropriation bills are only kept from being removed and introduced separately on their own merits, by consideration of the delays which the President might lawfully interpose in vetoing them. Sickness and death or other probable accident; the opportunity for bartering votes against the repeal of the Federal election statutes for votes in favor of general measures that would prolong the session; and finally the temptation to defection constantly offered by the little knot of Greenbackers, admonish the House Democrats to use their power with moderation. Mr. Springer has appeared to be most impressed with the uncertainty of their situation, and has carried the caucus with him so far as to agree to conceding to the Republicans Federal supervisors of elections, clothed simply with authority to witness and make note of the transactions at the polls. In the Senate the Democrats not only have a firmer control but feel it, and are elated, too, by what is to them a wholly new sensation. They have reconstituted the standing committees, with the liberal gift of twenty chairmanships to as many of the thirty Southerners among them, and have replaced the secretary, chief clerk, executive clerk, and sergeant-at-arms, all old or hereditary functionaries, with Democrats in good and regular standing. Moreover, they have, under the lead of Mr. Wallace, tabled a resolution of Mr. Edmunds's to limit the session to the objects for which it was called, and have introduced bills of all sorts as if in regular session. But, for that matter, so have the Republicans; Mr. Burnside, for instance, having put in his bill to reorganize the Army.

The debate over the appointment of the new officers in the Senate was very entertaining. The Democrats were intent on making a clean sweep and made it. Mr. Wallace spoke for them briefly, expressing great concern for the proper despatch of the Senate business, but adding that they had persons abundantly qualified to fill the vacant places, and were going to put them in. Mr. Bayard spoke highly of civil-service reform in the abstract, but seemed to think that the Republican officers were not entitled to the benefit of it. The best of the joke, however, came when Senator Conkling arose, and with great warmth protested against putting men in office for party reasons, and advocated the retention of actual incumbents as long as they were faithful and competent. His friends say that this "effort" was a wonderful display of logic, eloquence, and "elocutionary grace," but, strange to say, it produced no effect whatever on the obdurate Democrats; in fact, some of them wickedly smiled.

The main fight was over the Secretaryship of the Senate, which has been filled by a Mr. Burch in place of Mr. Gorham, the Secretary of the Republican Executive Committee. There was no denying Mr. Gorham's activity as a partisan; all that could be said in his defence on that score was that he did not allow this activity to interfere with the proper discharge of the duties of his office. This may be, and doubtless was, true, but it does not cover the case, which illustrates in a striking manner the propriety of Mr. Hayes's famous civil-service order, from which he afterwards weakly retreated. Mr. Gorham has been a very violent "worker." He

issued a circular last year calling for contributions from office-holders to the campaign fund, in evasion of the law. He refused to distribute the speeches of Mr. Schurz and that of the President on the all-important question of the currency, on the ground that they did not contain enough abuse of the Democrats to please him. In the circular in which he called for contributions from office-holders he declared that the next Senate would be Democratic, and that foremost among their schemes "the majority announced their intention to attempt the revolutionary expulsion of the President," by means of the Potter Committee. Now, this may have been all true, but it is expecting too much of human nature to expect the Democrats in the Senate to take no notice of it when they come into power. When the Collector of this port, or the Surveyor, or other officer, in like manner takes the stump in a Presidential campaign, and describes the opposition candidate, as Mr. Tilden was described in 1876, as a cheat, railroad-wrecker, and defrauder of the Government, and the opposition candidate is elected, it is useless to expect him to be such a magnanimous reformer as to refrain from dismissing the men who have shown him such outrageous disrespect. More than this, he ought not to retain them, because he cannot expect them to desire the success of his administration or to speak in praise or defence of it. All officers, therefore, who expect to serve the Government, whichever party may be in power, ought to keep out of active participation in the canvass. Mr. Gorham has participated in the canvass in a peculiarly offensive manner, and, much as we desire to see permanence in office—nay, because we desire to see it—we think the Democrats did a good thing in getting rid of him.

The Senate indulged in another debate over a resolution of Mr. Wallace's, calling for a detailed statement of the accounts of the U. S. Marshals employed during the last election in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, and Maryland. Mr. Conkling succeeded in getting this amended so as to include all the States not enumerated, on condition of precedence being given to the first-named. In the House the chief event has been the admission of Representative Hull from Florida, who bore the Governor's certificate, over the Republican contestant, Bisbee, to whom the re-count ordered by the Supreme Court fairly gave the election. The good old Democratic doctrine of standing by the returns would here have had its inconvenience; so the party fell back on the safer principle laid down by the Electoral Commission, and refused to go behind the certificate. The final vote was interesting—140 yeas and 137 nays. Of the fourteen Greenbackers one only voted with the Democrats in this instance, the rest with the Republicans.

A committee of the New York Assembly has been investigating at Kingston the bull-dozing practised at the last town election, for which one would have to seek a parallel at the South. Indeed there is a remarkable resemblance between the Kingston outrages and those in the Louisiana parish of Plaquemine in 1844, which we lately described. The town is a small one, but little exceeding 4,000 in population, and consists in large measure of Irish quarrymen and their families, who have readily become the tools of a ring which has been shamefully plundering the taxpayers. In 1876 the attempt to raise a Republican campaign-banner in an Irish quarter was met with bloodshed and had to be abandoned. This year a union of the taxpayers was effected with a view to shaking off the ring and rescuing the finances of the town; and the better to concentrate the respectable class of voters and guard against fraud at the polls, a law was procured authorizing one instead of five polling-places. This appears to have made matters worse instead of better, for the ruffianly element established the poll in "Mackerelville," took early possession of it, and surrounded it with a dense mob which admitted only Democratic voters, and shockingly maltreated

honest citizens who persisted in trying to reach the ballot-boxes, or who could not restrain their denunciation of the villanous manœuvre. The sheriff of Ulster County was on the scene, but would or could do nothing. Justice O'Connors, a Democratic inspector, opened the ballots at pleasure and occasionally tore them up and rejected them. When he and a brother justice, with the aid of the sheriff, counted the returns, they sometimes found several ballots folded together, which they laid aside "under the candlestick" until it could be seen how the vote would turn out. Of course the ring ticket was successful. What will come of the investigation remains to be seen.

The annual report of the N. Y. State Assessors, submitted to the Senate last month, contains a great mass of facts bearing on the system of taxation in this State, which show that the glaring inequalities and injustices so frequently exposed before continue unchanged. The valuations of each county are determined by the local authorities, some of them (particularly in the large towns) putting them at their market value, or nearly that, others putting them at any figure that may strike their fancy. The result is that "to make a perfectly equal distribution of valuations of real estate, as real estate is now assessed in the several counties, is an utter impossibility." Add to this that personal property, nominally always taxed at its full value, in a large majority of cases escapes altogether, and there is reason enough to complain of the system. Some of the results of it are quite amusing. In Rochester and in Utica, with a population of 100,000, the assessment of personal property to individuals was in 1872 "not equal to the assessment of two widows in Batavia," and the whole assessment was \$521,000 less than the bank capital. In Utica again, in 1877, while the increase in assessed value of real estate from 1872 to 1877 was over \$15,000,000, the personal property had increased only \$1,473,550, a state of facts which would go far to show that those investigators of economic phenomena who maintain that "real estate" goes on steadily holding its own amid the general wreck and shrinkage of all other forms of wealth, are right after all. Another peculiar thing, however, about Utica in 1877 was the fact that there were only sixty-seven persons assessed for personal property in the entire town. Some towns show the most surprising and gratifying growth in wealth in times of profound depression—for instance, New Hartford (population 4,307). In 1872 this little town had only \$32,800 personal property; in 1876 it could boast \$700,000, notwithstanding that Verona, with a larger population, in 1877 had only \$12,850. The State Assessors recommend, as everybody who has investigated the subject for the last ten years has agreed in recommending, a total change of system—the abandonment of the personal property tax.

Last Wednesday the case of the Police Commissioners came up before Mayor Cooper. The Commissioners appeared, but with their counsel, and the proceedings were opened by the Mayor's requesting from Mr. Erhardt a reply to the charges contained in his letter of March 14. Mr. Erhardt immediately read a document which among lawyers would be termed a plea to the jurisdiction, setting forth that his term of office has expired, and he is merely holding over, and that he cannot be removed summarily. This defence the Mayor overruled; whereupon Mr. Erhardt put in a second defence, consisting of a demand for charges and specifications of the misconduct in office for which it was proposed to remove him. After this ensued an examination of Mr. Erhardt by the Mayor, which finally ended by the former's refusing to answer any questions; upon which Mr. Cooper took up General Smith's case. An extraordinary scene now ensued; General Smith keeping silence, and his lawyers reading alternately in a loud voice their client's written answer to the charges. They were ordered to stop, and great confusion was caused, but they succeeded in reading the whole of it. The examination of Mr. Nichols resulted in nothing more definite than was obtained in the other two cases. The removal of the Commissioners appears to be decided upon, so far as the Mayor is concerned; but his action is

of course, under the charter, subject to the approval of the Governor. The ground taken by the officials is that the right of a "hearing" guaranteed them by the charter amounts to a guarantee of a trial, as in the case of other accused persons. The Corporation Counsel, Mr. Whitney, has recently given the Mayor an opinion on the subject in which he denies the existence of any such right, chiefly on the ground that the Mayor in such a proceeding would have no power to administer oaths, and that there is no mode of procedure provided. This being the case, if attempted, such a trial "can only degenerate into a farce, for a trial without any known mode of procedure being made applicable to it by law is just what anybody may choose to make it."

The question whether the Mayor was right in allowing the Commissioners to have counsel or not is hardly a legal question. It is only by a powerful stretch of the imagination that the Mayor can be regarded as a court. He has no rules of procedure, no power of summoning witnesses, and no power of committal for contempt. Counsel, therefore, are hardly needed in any proceeding before him, unless it is a very long and complicated one, which the non-professional mind could not be expected to arrange or follow with clearness. The question whether Cherry Street has been recently cleaned, or, if not, why not, and whether gambling-houses are open in Barclay Street with the knowledge of the police, and, if so, why so, can hardly be said to be of that nature, or to require professional aid to answer on the part of the Commissioners. In fact, the proceeding appears to be on the part of the Mayor a purely executive one, intended in the main for the satisfaction of the Governor, and the subject-matter of the enquiry to be very simple. On the other hand, the Police Commissioners are officers so high placed and charged with so much responsibility that it can hardly tend to promote discipline in the force or promote public confidence in the Mayor's use of his discretion to turn them out neck and heels, as if they were delinquent porters in a store. They ought to have formal charges and specifications, and time to consider them and to collect evidence in their own defence; but most certainly, in so far as the trial is intended to satisfy the people of the city that they have done their duty, their own story would be worth ten speeches from counsel. If there be anything of which New-Yorkers are sick in all that relates to the government of the city it is "counsel." They have long been accustomed to see the punishment of outrageous offences on the part of officials made indefinitely remote by the appearance of "counsel" on the scene.

The Court of Appeals decided on Tuesday that the city must go on paying its share of the money for the completion of the Brooklyn Bridge. The expense of this wholly unnecessary litigation is part of the price we have to pay for the luxury of being governed by "Boss" Kelly, and is a good illustration of the results of "Boss" government. He chose to refuse to pay this money, as Comptroller, contrary to the plain language of the law and the advice of the Corporation Counsel, although the case was so clearly against him that the Supreme Court judges decided it without leaving the bench. Not content with this, he immediately appealed it to the Court of Appeals. With the view taken of these proceedings as a "move" to discipline Brooklyn Democrats who were suspected of "Tildenism," we have nothing to do. Whether the motive was bad or good, it brought out in a strong light the grotesque unfitness of Kelly for such a position as he holds. During the past year or two, since he got full control of the city government, he has been using his power in the old way, filling the offices with his creatures and dependents, without the remotest regard to their fitness (indeed his conception of an office-holder does not involve the idea of fitness), and has been getting the system into just that state which makes the production of new Tweeds and Sweenys merely a question of time. His behavior makes his present horror and indignation at Mayor Cooper's course, known as "Tilden's moves," peculiarly amusing. When a "boss" calls Tammany together to denounce the dangers with which we are

threatened by the "insatiate ambition of one man," it certainly implies an astonishing confidence in the perpetual gullibility of the public. We wish we could believe that there was any truth in the story that the Mayor intended to remove Kelly from his position as Comptroller.

The Surrogate's opinion in the Vanderbilt will case contains a careful review of the evidence on both sides, and is judicial in tone, though some of the remarks in the decision would probably make lawyers a little more sensitive than those engaged in attempting to break the will appear to be, wince. The evidence introduced by the contestants was offered to show—first, the unsoundness of the late "Commodore's" mind, as indicated and produced by a number of physical ailments; second, the impairment of his mind as indicated by his irrational behavior, and an alleged "monomania for wealth and fame"; third, an alleged fraud practised upon his father by William H. Vanderbilt respecting communications from the spirit of his dead wife; fourth, undue influence. The opinion proceeds to show that there was not the slightest evidence of undue influence or of insanity, and that the testimony with regard to the spiritual communications was of no weight; and to decide that as "it would be an unworthy affectation to pretend that, in the opinion of the court, there existed even a *prima facie* cause for the revocation of the probate of the instruments when the contestant rested," the will must consequently stand. The Surrogate very justly observes that the trial of this cause has excited a good deal of interest, "because there is a very deep solicitude on the part of all classes to know whether the will of such a man as the decedent was believed to have been could be successfully assailed; in short, whether any will could be made which would successfully resist the assaults of dissatisfied heirs and next of kin. . . . In fact, the right to make any testamentary disposition has been felt to be on trial in this proceeding." Decedents as a class, may, perhaps, give up the ghost less anxiously for this decision; but what will puzzle a good many simple-minded people will be to know why the case, if there was nothing in it, was permitted to remain on trial for months and months.

Archbishop Purcell has addressed to "his friends and the public" through the press an explanation of his present unfortunate financial position. He says that he began his episcopal life in Cincinnati so poor that he had to borrow \$300 for his travelling expenses and those of his students and domestics. He then went on borrowing for "the many wants of a new diocese" until he had run up a debt of \$1,000,000 "in equity," which, through compound interest he thinks, has now reached \$3,600,000. He does not explain, however, why it is not "equitable" for the poor lenders to charge interest on interest which they did not draw, but left in his hands as a further loan. The uses to which he devoted the money were, substantially, the expenses of his diocese, including the maintenance of a theological seminary, in which he not only paid the salaries of the professors, but "fed, clothed, and educated the seminarians," and bought a library of sixteen thousand volumes, besides philosophical apparatus, built an orphan asylum, several churches and a cathedral. In fact, he seems to have done wonders with the means at his disposal, but he curiously enough makes no account of the fact that it was other people's money he was using and that they expected to get it back. He winds up with a piteous appeal to the public as an unfortunate "old missionary bishop whose race is nearly run." Catholics ought certainly to help him out of his difficulties, but there ought to be no more using of deposits for ecclesiastical purposes, and the archbishop must see that lay financiers are not such paltry fellows after all.

The financial event of the week was the suspension on Thursday, the 20th, of all the New Orleans banks, which kept open only for cash payments to the extent of \$200 to each depositor. The suspension was resolved upon for the purpose of checking a panic that had arisen because of the failure of the Southern and the

Mechanics and Traders' banks, each of these concerns having been brought down by the depreciation in New Orleans City bonds and Louisiana State bonds, which have fallen so heavily in the last few months. Immediately after suspension, currency was ordered from New York, where about \$2,500,000 rested subject to New Orleans draft, and on Tuesday, the 25th, or five days previous to the date of resumption first proposed, the New Orleans banks reopened. For a short time the New York market was greatly excited, as it was known that the New York banks, whose surplus reserve had been reduced to less than \$4,000,000, could not afford to spare a dollar. About \$2,000,000 currency was shipped, but by reason of the gain in specie the bank statement of Saturday showed a slight increase in reserve. The rate for money advanced to sharp 7 per cent. and ruled at 6 to 7 per cent. for demand loans. The Secretary of the Treasury has given fresh promises that he will do all in his power to tide the New York banks over the April stringency. Already the few days of a 7 per cent. money market have driven down the price of 4 per cent. bonds to 99½ to 99¼ for coupons, and 98½ to 98¼ for registered, so that they can be bought in the market much cheaper than of the Treasury. All securities have fallen somewhat. Sterling exchange has declined, on account of money being so much higher here than in London, from 4.89½ to 4.85½ to 4.86 for demand bills. The London money market, although very easy at 1½ to 1¼ per cent., was somewhat unsettled late in the week by rumors of bank troubles. Silver early in the week fell to 48½d. to 48¼d.—the lowest price since our remonetization. The closing price was 49¼d. per ounce. The bullion value of the 412½-grain dollar was as low as \$0.8217, but the close was \$0.8295.

Mayor Cooper, it is announced, will receive subscriptions in aid of the sufferers by flood at Szegedin, in Hungary. The disaster occurred in the early morning of Wednesday, the 12th inst., when the swollen waters of the Theiss, on which this important commercial city stands, broke through the inner dikes that make a basin of Szegedin, and in an hour and a half converted it into a lake. The horrors of the situation were aggravated by a violent storm which raged for several days. Some sixty thousand people were rendered homeless and homeless, and sought safety in boats or in the loftier public buildings, or camped upon the principal dike along the river, which happily stood firm. It is estimated that nearly two thousand perished by drowning. Four-fifths of the houses were destroyed, mostly by the direct rush of the flood, and the total loss in property value is estimated at \$7,500,000. Several other places higher up in the Theiss valley have shared the fate of Szegedin, in a less degree individually, but together reckoning perhaps as large a number of unfortunates. The survivors are behaving with great fortitude and self-respect, and all the more on this account their distress should appeal to the sympathies of the benevolent.

M. Léon Say's vindication of himself before the Assembly has been complete, and it absolved him by a heavy majority. This is, of course, a help to the Ministry, which has suffered much by its failure either to get rid of M. Marcère itself without suffering him to defend himself before the Chamber, or to make common cause with him when he did defend himself. But its troubles are not over, as M. Jules Ferry is just opening the great fight with the Clericals by the introduction of an Educational Bill, resuming for the state the exclusive right of granting degrees and virtually forbidding the Jesuits to teach in France, where they have twenty-seven colleges and eight hundred and forty-eight teachers. As M. Ferry is a sceptic who was married by civil process, and M. Waddington is a Protestant, the Cabinet will enter on this struggle under some serious disadvantages, and it will certainly be fierce and bitter. There is a growing feeling that it will not come through it unscathed, and that a real Gambetta Ministry is inevitable before long. The Tariff Committee has reported by 22 to 3 in favor of the renewal of the treaties of commerce, which is a victory for the free-traders.

THE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS.

THE action of the Democrats in caucus at Washington on Saturday leaves us in doubt whether it is intended to force the passage of the political measures upon which the two appropriation bills were made to depend in the last Congress, by adhering to them at all hazards, or whether a door is to be left open for retreat in case the President vetoes them. They have resolved to incorporate those measures—the repeal or modification of the Federal election law, and the proviso prohibiting the approach or presence of troops at the polls on election day—in the regular appropriation bills. They have a sufficient majority in each House to pass the bills in this shape. Do they intend thereupon to adjourn and put upon the President the necessity of approving something which he may be unable, consistently with his oath of office, to approve, under pain of losing the appropriation bills entirely? Or is there a mental reservation that after passing the bills they will wait and see what the President does, and determine their ultimate policy after they shall have learned his? These are serious questions, and it is not impossible that the next national election may turn in part upon the President's right to exercise his discretion and judgment upon all bills presented to him, without constraint or duress laid upon him by a co-ordinate branch of the Government.

It is rather late in the day for Republicans to protest against general legislation in appropriation bills. The mass of legislation enacted in this manner during the past twenty years, if it were segregated and published with the dates and titles of the acts in which it is found, would astonish everybody. Most commonly this method of passing new laws or changing old ones has been adopted for convenience merely, in order to save time and trouble in the press of business. Not infrequently, however, it has been resorted to by one house in order to coerce the other, or to put a pressure on the Executive. Hardly a session passes without some trick of legislation of this kind. In one notable instance the Republicans were guilty of the same offence against the Constitution to which the Democratic caucus now seems determined to commit the party. In 1867 Congress inserted in the Army Appropriation Bill a section prohibiting the President of the United States from issuing any order to any officer of the Army except through the General of the Army at his headquarters in Washington, prohibiting him from ordering or assigning the General of the Army to duty elsewhere than in Washington, and prohibiting any officer inferior to the General from obeying any order of the President not transmitted through that channel, under penalty of imprisonment not less than two nor more than twenty years. A bolder attempt to usurp the constitutional functions of the Executive could hardly be conceived. Yet it was successfully carried out. President Johnson signed the bill under protest two days before the expiration of the session, "lest by withholding his signature the necessary appropriation be defeated." The Stalwarts who voted for this bill, several of whom are still in the Senate, ought to preserve more than Roman gravity when the debate upon the mode of altering or repealing the Federal election law comes on.

What the political consequences might have been if President Johnson had vetoed this bill, or had "pocketed" it, as he had the right to do at that period of the session, can only be matter of conjecture. If the Army had been left without pay or rations very likely the country would have put the blame upon him, since he had no party to sustain him anywhere, and the people were then too intensely preoccupied with the question of Reconstruction to give much attention to mere methods of legislation. The case is widely different now. There is no question before the people at present of more importance or of greater general interest than that raised by the Democratic caucus. The assembling of Congress in extra session has served to fix public attention upon the reasons which led to the failure of the two appropriation bills a fortnight ago, so that men who commonly give small heed to what is going on at Washington if it does not affect their business, will be pretty sure to know what the commotion is about, and to form or borrow ideas as to the right or wrong of it. When Congress meets for a

special and particular purpose it sits under a burning-glass. When there is only one measure to be considered—for there is practically only one that the country has any interest in—public attention is apt to concentrate upon it with rapidity and clearness. Hence the chances of committing a blunder and getting away unpunished are vastly less than they were when the Republicans "bull-dozed" President Johnson in 1867.

In a former article (the *Nation*, No. 713) we discussed the subject of legislative coercion as attempted to be exercised by one branch of Congress upon the other, showing that the privilege of independent judgment on the part of each house upon all bills is the essential feature which, in these latter days, distinguishes us from the parliamentary governments of Western Europe, where the popular branch is vastly more powerful than any other member of the body politic. The same remarks are equally applicable to the Executive. He is a part of the law-making power of the United States, and in the line of his prescribed duty cannot be overridden or ignored any more than the Senate or the House. Any party or faction which seeks to put an extinguisher upon him in the way proposed by the more hot-headed members of the Democratic caucus is really bringing forward an innovation of so serious a character that it may be termed revolutionary. The Democratic party is in no position to incur such a charge. If ever a party was on its good behavior the Democratic party is now in that category. It has been entrusted with full legislative power, except as modified by the veto of the Executive, for the first time in nearly twenty years. There are many misgivings on the part of those persons wielding the balance of power who actively or tacitly consented to bring about this result. Their motive in nine cases out of ten was to put the Republican party on the stool of repentance rather than to lift the Democrats into the places of authority. The experiment has not given them unbounded satisfaction. They have seen the bulk of the party madly supporting schemes for debasing the currency and impairing the public credit. It has been proved that the majority of them have no principles which they are not ready to barter for some *ignis fatuus* that resembles success. Such a party, existing by the sufferance rather than the set purpose of the electors, is in no condition to carry extra weight. It has no prestige to fall back upon. The present generation knows it only as the ally of slavery and the open or secret sympathizer with the rebellion. There are a hundred reasons why it cannot safely do what the Republicans did in the case of Andrew Johnson.

To repeal the Federal election law is one thing; to disband the courts and the departments for want of funds is another thing. To prohibit the presence of troops at or near the polls on election day we may concede to be a proper thing to do, although the danger of military usurpation and menace under existing laws is not overpowering. To leave the Army without pay or ammunition, and the Indian frontier unprotected, would be a crime not to be forgiven. While hunting an issue for the next campaign let the party leaders beware lest they start a fiercer one than they were looking for. If the President exercises his lawful discretion to approve or disapprove every measure laid before him, as he probably will, and if in so doing he vetoes an appropriation bill necessary for carrying on the Government, the responsibility for consequences will fall upon those who shall have exceeded their constitutional rights and sought to exercise powers never confided to them. When conflicts arise between Congress and the Executive, the people are prone to side with the latter, unless very good reasons can be shown to the contrary. Even after the great dispute with Andrew Johnson the Republicans came back with a loss of fifteen seats in the House, which is more than the Democrats can afford to lose now. Their worst enemy could not devise a more dangerous pitfall than their own caucus seems to be preparing for them.

THE PLIGHT OF THE ENGLISH FARMERS.

THE English papers have now for nearly a year been containing doleful accounts of the condition of the English farmers. In an article on the agricultural depression in a late number of the *Fort-*

nightly Review, by Mr. W. E. Bear, one of the best authorities in England on farming matters, he gives the result of enquiries made by him as to the condition of agriculture in thirty-nine counties, and the accounts from all are almost as gloomy as possible. In nearly all of them the farmers are described as losing money and heart; the land as declining in quality, and in many counties as going out of cultivation for want of people willing to work it as tenants. In fact, the only county from which cheering accounts were received was Lancashire. In the stock-raising and dairy districts the state of things was not quite as bad as in the grain-growing regions, but it was bad in all. What makes the crisis all the worse is that it has been approaching gradually for ten years. That is, there have not since 1868 been two good seasons in succession, and the last three crops have been decidedly bad, and have been bad without raising prices. Rents, too, which were settled in leases made more than ten years ago, are exorbitantly high for these times. Laborers' wages, owing to their newly-acquired art of combining like the mechanics in the towns, have within ten years risen from twenty to forty per cent. The best cheese, which even five years ago used to bring \$16 per cwt., now, owing to American competition, brings only \$11, and the poorer cheese, which used to bring \$12, is now worth at most only \$7, and is for the most part unsalable. To crown all, the importation of foreign, and particularly American, cattle and meat, has begun to weigh heavily upon the only class of farmers who have thus far been able to keep their heads above water—the stock-breeders. The supply of cattle and meat from the United States and Canada is only just beginning, and is thought likely to increase enormously. Poultry, eggs, hay, and straw are, owing to the improvements in the means of communication, pouring in from the Continent in quantities never dreamed of until now. India, too, is becoming a great wheat-producing country. The importation in 1877 was large, and as the supply of wheat-land in that region is practically unlimited, and also the supply of cheap labor, there is no reason why it should not increase steadily for years to come. The improved and extended railroad communication in Rumania, Hungary, and Russia, and Turkey in Europe, of course all goes to increase the competition in grain with which the British farmer has to contend in Europe. From America he does not fear so much in this field. He produces 29½ bushels to the acre against 12 in the United States, and, adding to this the cost of transportation, he calculates that he has a natural protection against the American farmer of \$8 an acre, and that he need not fear him as long as the latter cannot as a regular thing deliver wheat in Liverpool at \$8 the quarter. It is in cattle, meat, and dairy products that the English farmer now most fears the United States, and it is India he most fears in wheat, as regards the future; but as to the former he is probably mistaken, as it is being discovered at the West that there are enormous wheat-producing areas which have until now not been supposed capable of producing anything.

But the fact seems to be that, whatever the future may have in store for British agriculture in general, there is little chance of any recovery that will come in time to save the present generation of farmers, or save the present agricultural régime. The change which the altered economical conditions of farming in England seem likely to bring about will not only be agricultural but social and political. In spite of all recent modifications the Government of England is to a large extent carried on still by the landholders. Neither the number of the landholders nor the rental of the estates affords an adequate idea of the enormous amount of money which has been invested in land, even by the commercial class, since the passage of the Reform Bill. It is safe to say that within that period few great fortunes have been made in trade, in mining, or manufacturing, of which the larger portion, or at all events a very large portion, has not been put into landed estates. The result has been to raise the price of the fee so much in relation to the rental that it is calculated that it does not now pay over one and a half per cent. on cost or on market value, and did not, even in the prosperous times of a few years ago, pay over two per cent. Nevertheless, the farm-

ers now declare themselves unable to pay their rents; and that they speak truly is proved by the rapidly-increasing number of bankruptcies among them, by the growing difficulty of renting farms at all, and by the growing amount of land which is going out of cultivation. If the payment of one and a half per cent. on the cost of the fee is an intolerable burden, it serves to give an idea of the attractions land has had in England apart from its commercial returns. This value has lain in the social and political weight which the ownership of it has carried with it. The possession of it in fee has put a man in the highest class of society, has given him a prominent share in local government, has increased his chances of a seat in the House of Commons, and, what is perhaps sweeter than all, has surrounded him with a body of respectable dependents in the shape of tenants, each of whom is a sign of his social eminence. Anything which altered the position of this class in England would greatly change the whole political fabric, and any increased difficulty in letting land or any great alteration in the conditions on which it was let would undoubtedly change it; in other words, the disappearance of the country gentleman from English politics and local government, whether a change for the better or the worse, would be a serious change.

Then, too, the farmers have long been—indeed, have been since 1688—the bone and sinew of the Tory party. Without the support it gets from the counties it would not now be able to make a show of existing. So steadfast is this support that even the acquiescence of the party in the policy of free-trade, when protection meant in the main high duties on foreign grain, did not alienate it. And the farmers are good Conservatives largely as a matter of fidelity or good neighborhood towards their landlords. The landlords gone, or their influence destroyed, and the cultivators of the soil would be as liable to be swept by the wilder winds of politics as the artisans in the boroughs. But if enough rent cannot be got out of land to pay one and a half per cent. on the purchase money of the fee, of course the landlords must go or else their relations with the actual tillers of the soil must completely change. When owners of land have to go in pursuit of tenants, tenant-farming cannot last very long.

It seems, indeed, all but certain that the fate which long since overtook land-owners in the Eastern States of the Union is at last overtaking those of England. The enormous quantity of cheap fertile land which steam has brought and is bringing into competition with that of the older communities, has made it impossible for land in any of the Eastern States, even in the neighborhood of the great towns, to do more than support the person who works it, and that in a very plain way. It is no exaggeration to say that little, if any, land east of the Alleghenies will now enable a farmer to maintain himself and his family decently and pay rent besides. In New England it has been found that farmers cannot live, even without paying rent, and keep up even the standard of living to which their grandfathers were accustomed; and the farms of that region are rapidly passing into the hands of Irish and Germans, who are willing to work the land more distinctly in the character of peasants. During the last forty years the English farmers have considerably raised their standard of living. The accession to their ranks of large numbers of men with capital, and the general adoption of scientific husbandry, has carried them distinctly, in dress, furniture, tastes, and habits, towards the gentry, and greatly increased the living expenses which have to be got off the land before it can begin to pay rent or interest on the money invested in machinery and manures. This rise in the standard of living has, of course, done much to aggravate the severity of the present crisis. It would not be surprising, therefore, if there was in the next generation of English farmers a distinct return towards the peasant type. In fact, the history of agriculture in the most as well as the least prosperous parts of the world lends strong support to the view that on the whole the farmer cannot anywhere rise much, if any, above the French and Belgian type, and that the land will not yield permanently the means of sharing in the elegances of life, or with much keenness in its intellectual movements.

HOW PARIS IS GOVERNED.—III.

PARIS, March 7, 1879.

WHEN I began my letter on Municipal Paris I little expected that the question of the Prefecture of Police would become so soon a political question. I intended to give you a calm survey of the organization of the French capital; and now it has just happened that the Radicals have made of this delicate matter, the police of Paris, the entering-wedge on the Conservative Republic. They have succeeded so far as to upset the Prefect of Police, M. Gigot, and the Home Minister, M. de Marcère; and their leader in the Chamber of Deputies, M. Clémenceau, has nearly upset the whole Cabinet. He has become the man of the day; he is dreaded, he is admired, he is photographed.

The battle, however, is only just begun, and President Grévy is probably not disposed to give up the rules which have always been observed in the administration of Paris. As my object is to describe these rules, I can do no better than to translate a decree of M. Grévy's of the 18th February, 1879. It is thus worded, and will serve as a type of many presidential decrees:

"The President of the French Republic:

"On the proposition of the Home Minister, considering the law of April 14, 1871 [the municipal law passed by the National Assembly]; considering the deliberation dated February 1, 1879, by which the Municipal Council of Paris, taking occasion of declarations of the Prefect of Police concerning the members of his administration, vindicates the right to exercise direct control of the services of the Prefecture of Police, services which it calls essentially municipal:

"Considering that in accordance with the terms of Article I. of the *arrêté* of the consuls of Messidor 12, year viii., which defines the functions of the Prefect of Police, this magistrate fills this office in matters of general police as well as of municipal police under the immediate authority of the ministers, and corresponds directly with them touching the objects which concern their respective departments; considering that the functions of Prefect of Police extend not only to the City of Paris, but also to all the communes of the department of the Seine, and to some communes of the department of Seine-et-Oise:

"In consequence, in claiming a right of direct control over the Prefecture of Police which is not recognized by law, the Municipal Council having exceeded the limit of its attributions, and its deliberation falling under the application of Article XIV. of the law of April 19, 1871:

"The President decrees:

"Article I. The deliberation of the Municipal Council of Paris of February 1, 1879, is declared null:

"Article II. The Home Minister is charged with the execution of the present decree."

This form of a presidential decree will show you that we have an arsenal of laws into which we can plunge our hand; we use daily the decrees of the consuls; Messidor and Fructidor are names heard constantly at the law-courts. Under all our governments, Directory, Empire, Restoration, Second Empire, etc., the principles of the municipal government of Paris have been essentially the same. The Prefect of the Seine and the Prefect of Police have been considered as *Imperial* officers, placed under the direct control of the Cabinet ministers.

The battle which is now beginning on this question is one which may be of long duration. What the radicals really want is to have the government of Paris in their own hands, but it is not with any municipal view; they intend to govern France by means of Paris; they would bring the Chambers back to Paris, have what we call manifestations, give arms to the old battalions of the Commune. If all this could happen, they would not be the masters of Paris only, they would be the masters of the Government. The partisans of a very independent municipal government would be very much mistaken if they applied their theories to Paris. The Commune, the free Commune, which is the dream of M. Clémenceau, is not the quiet, law-abiding little community which philanthropists may dream of; it is the huge revolutionary Commune of the first Revolution, with its clubs, its armed sections. For the present the Government has maintained its principles, while it has sacrificed those who represented those principles at the Prefecture of Police. All the prefects to whom M. Gigot's place has been offered made it a condition that they should receive their orders from the Minister of the Interior and from the Minister of Justice, not from the Municipal Council. Two of them have distinctly refused the post because too much had already been done for the Municipal Council. M. Andrieux, the new Prefect of Police, is said to be an energetic man. He will probably try, at any rate, to get rid of the interference of the Municipal Councilors; but it must be confessed that the movement, to use a French word, which began after the downfall of the Broglie Cabinet is a dangerous one, as far as the Administration is concerned. Parliamentary committees of enquiry

may be very useful in matters of political economy, etc.; when these committees interfere with the public administrations they destroy the respect due to hierarchy, they encourage denunciations, they unnerve authority, they favor intrigue. The parliamentary committee which has been sitting now for more than a year on the conduct of the Ministers of the 16th of May has travelled all over France with the pomp and circumstance which belongs in this country to the executive power. The members of this committee have summoned thousands of witnesses, have received thousands of denunciations, have frightened the whole army of public functionaries. Some men have been employed for a whole year in reading and deciphering all the telegraphic despatches of the period of the 16th of May. The report of this committee will soon be placed before the Chambers. I doubt, for my part, if the discoveries which the committee have made will be found very interesting, and if the good produced by this investigation, made by men untrained and liable to be carried away by political passion, will balance the great evil which is produced by a complete perturbation of our very quiet and on the whole very honorable administrative world.

This fashion of inquests has extended to the subject of the police. Some bad characters, turned out of the administration of the police, have written anonymous letters to the *Lanterne*, the journal which Henri Rochefort still edits from Geneva. "Un vieux petit employé" denounced the abuses of our police, the treatment of prisoners, the Bonapartist tendencies of many of the important men of this administration. The Prefect was so much moved by this attack that he got a parliamentary committee appointed, and charged this committee with the mission of making an enquiry. He thus confessed that he was not able to make the enquiry himself. It was curious to find on the committee names of old Republicans who had been conspiring almost all their life and been at war with the police; they now became the judges of their old enemies, and it cannot be much wondered at that the inquest completely failed; all the witnesses summoned said that they were bound by their professional duties, that they did not think themselves justified in revealing secrets which they had always considered it their duty to keep. The police *commissaires* of Paris and their chiefs were willing to give information about the general rules of their administration; they refused, and they refused very justly, to give names, to explain individual cases, to enter into the examination of private affairs which interested the committee particularly.

The Chamber of Deputies is not a court of justice; it was in the power of the National Assembly, which for a time had all the functions of the state in its hand, to institute committees of this sort and to act as a judiciary body. In ordinary times we do not concede such a power to the Chamber; when the ministers are impeached the Constitution gives the Senate the right to judge them. The Deputies, however, who formed M. Gigot's committee became very angry when they could get nothing from the police. They resigned their functions, and this incident was the beginning of the crisis which has ended in the resignation of M. de Marcère, and which threatened at one time to end in the resignation of the whole Cabinet. For the present nothing is changed in the administration of Paris. Some of the best men of our police department have resigned, but the Prefect has kept his attributions and has remained theoretically independent of the Municipal Council.

If I might make a résumé of what I have said so far of the administration of Paris, I would say that Paris has in fact a dualistic government; it has two mayors, called prefects, the Prefect of Police and the Prefect of the Seine. The Prefect of the Police, who is not concerned with the police alone, as I have shown in giving the attributions of the various bureaux of his prefecture, is in daily relations with the President of the Republic, with the Minister of Justice, and with the Minister of the Interior. He is responsible for the peace and good order of the city, but he is also responsible for the execution of all the decrees of the courts of justice; he is in reality a member of the judiciary power as much as a member of the executive power, or he is rather the *trait d'union* between them. His functions are consequently of a particularly delicate character, and their importance can hardly be overvalued. Everything comes to him through the police: the rumors of the great capital, the hidden scandals of political societies, the scandals of the large foreign population of Paris, a population which sometimes contains many important personages. He must sift all this information, and give a constant daily résumé of it to the Home Minister and the Head of the State. He is one of the most important agents of a Government which must perforce remain centralized. As for the Prefect of the Seine, he is in daily communication with the Municipal Council. He presides over its sittings,

he takes part in all its discussions, but as soon as the Council transgresses the limits fixed for its prerogatives by the law he is bound to advise the Home Minister of this infraction, and he can have the illegal deliberations annulled. He is looked upon by the Council as a sort of tyrant, and he ought, nevertheless, to be on good terms with the Council. He is, fortunately, very well supported by what I have called the technical administrators. These men are with him, behind him, always give him the best advice; they are men whom the Council cannot but respect, as they are all well-trained and considerable men.

In my next letter I will enter into those technical services, and begin with the schools of Paris.

Notes.

ROBERT CLARKE & CO., Cincinnati, publish immediately 'The Secret of the Andes,' a romance by F. Hassaurek, formerly U. S. Minister to Ecuador, and author of a very readable work on that country.—Little, Brown & Co., Boston, have in press the 'Memoir and Writings of Benjamin Robbins Curtis, LL.D.,' edited by his son, Benjamin R. Curtis. The first volume will contain the memoir, with which will be printed for the first time Judge Curtis's correspondence with Chief-Justice Taney in relation to the Dred Scott decision. In other respects also the work will be a remarkable one.—A copy of the first American genealogy, entitled the 'Family of Mr. Samuel Stebbins and Mrs. Hannah Stebbins his wife,' one of the two known remaining copies, brought \$30 in the late sale of the Brinley Collection. This work was printed in Hartford in 1771, and is about to be reprinted by the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, in a facsimile edition of one hundred copies.—Charles Scribner's Sons have reprinted the useful little book by C. F. Keary, called 'The Dawn of History.' The typography is not very attractive, and in copying page for page even the obvious verbal blunders we pointed out in our review of the book (*Nation*, No. 685) have been retained. On the other hand, an index is now added.—Mrs. Kate N. Doggett's translation of Charles Blanc's 'Grammar of Painting and Engraving,' originally published in 1873-4 by Hurd & Houghton, comes to us now in a still handsome third edition, bearing the imprint of S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago. It is a work to be praised in itself and as a translation; but it should be remembered that it is only the third book of the original work.—G. P. Putnam's Sons' "Economic Monographs," which, with a more attractive title and less restrictive scope, would fairly represent the German *Zeit- und Streit-Fragen* to which we alluded last week, have just received the following additions: 'Honest Money and Labor,' by Carl Schurz; 'National Banking,' by M. L. Seudder, Jr.; 'Hindrances to Prosperity,' by Simon Sterne; 'International Copyright,' by Geo. Haven Putnam; and 'Free-Trade,' by C. L. Brace.—Prof. C. E. Norton's annotated 'List of the Principal Books relating to the Life and Works of Michael Angelo'; and Mr. Justin Winsor's '*Pietas et Gratulatio*,' a local bit of antiquarianism, constitute Nos. 3 and 4 of the "Bibliographical Contributions" of Harvard University Library.—Houghton, Osgood & Co. send us their well-approved 'Satchel Guide for the Vacation Tourist in Europe,' revised to February 15, 1879.—The Harvard Summer School of Geology begins its first course this year in Cambridge, July 7, and ends at Catskill, N. Y., August 15. A matron accompanies it for the benefit of lady students. Twelve students must constitute the school, and the tuition fee is \$25. Mr. W. M. Davis, Jr., 15 Sumner St., Cambridge, should be addressed in regard to it. Prof. N. S. Shaler will direct the second course, which will give field-training to men in connection with the Kentucky Geological Survey. Prof. Shaler's address is Cambridge. The fee is the same as above, and the term from June 15 to September 15.—The *Portfolio* for 1879 (J. W. Bouton) contains critical innovations of importance. The Art Chronicle, consisting of news-paragraphs, is a careful and complete summary. The large illustrations for February are from a bad picture by Alma Tadema, called 'The Sunflower,' and a good one by Miss Gardiner, of Boston, who long since married the art of the professor, M. Bouguereau, whose hand rumor now assigns to her keeping. Mr. Bouton is now receiving subscriptions to *L'Art* for 1879, and those who subscribe before July 1 will be entitled also to an impression on Holland paper of an unusually large etching (21½ x 11½ inches), by Adolphe Lalauze, of Makart's famous painting, 'Entry of Charles V. into Antwerp,' the photographs from which were so displeasing to Mr. Anthony Comstock, while the original had the place of honor at the Paris Exposition.

—Mr. S. P. Avery's collection of Oriental porcelain, which for six years has formed the most attractive loan at the Metropolitan Museum, has been displaced by the removal of that institution, and is now on view at No. 845 Broadway. With the additions made by the proprietor, it now numbers 1,207 pieces, without any duplicates or pairs. It looks hopeful that the Museum will yet secure the ownership, contributions having been already made towards the purchase, at \$35,000. Largely obtained when prices were lower, a dozen years ago, the specimens would now fetch more than that sum at auction.—This month appears a third, entirely revised edition of Prof. Karl Hillebrand's 'Frankreich und die Franzosen,' and early in May the second volume of his 'History of France' is promised.—No. 76 of the Berlin Geographical Society's *Zeitschrift* contains the usual exhaustive catalogue of geographical publications for the past year.

—The illustrated magazines for April scarcely compete with each other in literary merit. In *Lippincott's* a familiar writer, "Porte Crayon," tells of a visit to Jamestown, Williamsburg, and Yorktown—"the shrines of Old Virginia"—thirty years ago; while the Louisiana of to-day is effectively pictured in Miss Annie Porter's second paper on "My Village in the South." "A Lady's Life in Brazil" relates to the suburbs of Pernambuco, where for all that is primitive and slovenly (as of right in a tropical slave-country) the climate makes ample amends. "During a residence of two years our bedroom windows were never closed, while a thin blanket was usually acceptable." As regards fruit, we should suppose the fact contained in the following extract to be not generally known: "When one banana shows signs of ripening on the bunch, the whole tree is cut down and the bunch is carefully put away in a dark place to ripen. A tree will never bear a second bunch, but the old root sends up new shoots, which in a short time are ready for fruit." Mr. Henry James, jr.'s "English Vignettes" embrace the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Monmouthshire, and Cambridge, and as usual distinctly add something to the impression made by common repute and the guide-books. Mr. J. Brander Matthews traces briefly the life of Molière in order to separate from it the legends which have clustered about it, and to show how modern criticism has demolished them.

—Mr. Matthews has a more piquant paper in *Scribner's* on the "Actors and Actresses of New York." A writer who declares in his opening paragraph that "There are probably now not only as good actors, but as many good actors, in the United States as in France," is sure of attention, and would be even if his opinions were less weighty than in the present case. Some clever sketches of the subjects of this paper, admirably engraved, accompany the text, but leave a suspicion of inadequacy as regards the portraiture, while in catching the spirit of the part Mr. Abbey appears to have been frequently very successful. By far the longest paper in *Scribner's*, and certainly as interesting as any, is Mr. William C. Church's account of the life and inventive triumphs of John Ericsson, largely based upon the elegant volume of 'Contributions to the Centennial Exhibition,' in which Mr. Ericsson has set down his unquestionable claims on the grateful remembrance of posterity—claims which may yet be considerably extended if his years are prolonged. The proverbial enquiry, "Where is Mr. Bergh?" prepares one for the question who he is and what led him to undertake his present humane mission. Mr. C. C. Buel furnishes the desired information, which is not without its surprises, for Mr. Bergh was a dramatic author before he became a professional philanthropist (we use this phrase with entire respect). Mr. William Page speaks with authority on the relations of the human figure to a square of twelve, but with much irrelevant mysticism.

—Mr. Page's bust, rough cast, is represented in *Harper's* along with other beautiful engravings of "Sculpture in America," the fresher pieces being Launt Thompson's ideal statue of Abraham Pierson, and J. Q. A. Ward's Washington (with which Newburyport has just been enriched). Colonel Waring continues his pleasant "Berg und Thal" series: there are some good illustrations of animals in the article on "The Philadelphia Zoo"; Mr. R. H. Stoddard contributes a biographical and partly critical sketch of the late Richard Henry Dana; and a Congressman's letters from Washington in the first years of the century occupy a large space, but none too large. Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill was a New-Yorker, a member of the House of Representatives in the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Eleventh Congresses, and of the Senate meantime. In politics he was a Republican, but not a blind partisan. He writes to his wife about Jefferson's 'Notes on Virginia' as a new book, and of "Lindley Murray's grammar and book of exercises" as "excellent works of their kind." He describes Thomas Paine at a dinner-party: "a red and rugged face,

which looks as if it had been much hackneyed in the service of the world," with black and lively eyes, fiery-red cheeks and nose; a great talker, and full of entertaining anecdote. Dr. Mitchell was a staunch admirer of Burr while the latter was Vice-President, and stands by him against his calumniators; and though he refuses to sign an address to the Governor of New Jersey begging him to quash the proceedings against Burr for the fatal duel with Hamilton, he weeps "profusely" with his brother Senators when the Vice-President takes his farewell of them. "Burr is one of the best officers that ever presided over a deliberative assembly." Two years later he tells of Burr's Western expedition, and wonders how he will get out of the scrape: "but he is full of cunning and subterfuge, and will reserve for himself a hole to creep out at." Mitchell was a member of the House "Committee on the Memorials concerning Perpetual Motion" (1802). In the Senate he voted with the Federalists on the impeachment of Justice Samuel Chase (March 1, 1805).

—If "Thro' the Dark" at the Fifth Avenue Theatre has not proved a triumphant success, it is not for want of ingenuity and resource on the part of the author, Mr. Steele Mackaye. We are informed by the bills that the "theme of the play" was suggested last summer to Mr. Mackaye in "rather an interesting manner." He was, it seems, rusticating in the New Hampshire mountains, when he one day came across a drunken tramp, who was "carrying out in his outward action the inner drama of some tipsy dream." The laws of New Hampshire on the subject of tramps are, as is well known, extremely severe, and if Mr. Mackaye had let his new-found acquaintance alone, the latter would probably within twenty-four hours have been set to work by the local authorities chopping wood, or breaking stone, or mending the roads. The dramatist, however, believing him to be deserving of a better fate, succeeded in getting him into a hut near by, where he made for him a bed of branches, and left him for the night, first carefully "fastening the hut upon the outside." The next morning he woke the man, and urged him to hasten across the border and save himself from impending penal servitude; the tramp, however, utterly indifferent to his fate, sat down quietly on a stump and told in a "jesting, reckless, God-defying way" the story of his life. Precisely what this story was we are not informed, but whatever it was it excited in his hearer a strong desire "to write a play which should show certain typical characters of the present time face to face with the hard facts of modern civilization." Such a play is "Thro' the Dark." One man, born and bred in honesty, contends with great material adversity; another, born and bred in crime, struggles upward against his surroundings; another, born and bred in luxury, is seen in the toils of those bad passions "which the blessings of civilization so often develop in the human breast," and of the three this man is the only one who is utterly ruined. Thus the purpose of the play is to illustrate dramatically "the fact that the most helpless victims of society are those whom she pets the most." Another type presented in the play is a money-lender, "representing the remorseless energy and sordid cruelty of the money power of the world." The women of the piece illustrate various forms of womanly devotion. We should despair of success in any attempt to give an outline of the plot. If the "theme" sketched above is profound in its appeals to our moral emotions, the plot is no less so in its reliance upon our deep-seated love of theatrical sensation. Of the two, Mr. Mackaye understands sensation better, perhaps, than morality. Murder, abduction, counterfeiting—all lend their aid to heighten the interest. In one act a "double scene" shows on the right the starving engraver's humble lodgings; on the left the luxurious private dining-room of a West End Club-house, in which *Robert Hardy*, the debauchee, is sipping *cognac* and planning crime. One of the scenes shows us the private office of the chief inspector of police, Scotland Yard; another, a thieves' quarter in London; another, the corridors of a prison. The acting was throughout very fair, the best being done by Mr. Joseph Wheelock, who took the difficult part of *Arthur Allston*. "Thro' the Dark," however, cannot be called a success. It suggests several reflections; among others, that it would have been well if the laws of New Hampshire had made it a penal offence to harbor or to aid and abet in the escape of tramps; and also that Mr. George Washington Esop might find in the story of the Dramatist and the Tramp a convenient subject for his new series of fables.

—Lecocq's last opera, "*Le Petit Duc*," has been brought out at Booth's in an English version. In Paris it has already had an immense success, which the beauty of the music and the comicality of the plot amply justify. The scene is laid in the time of Louis Quatorze, the little Duke of Parthenay being married, at the age of eighteen, to *Blanche de Cambry*,

also extremely young. The marriage ceremony is hardly over before the bride is carried off to school at the convent of Lunéville. Her young husband, naturally indignant, threatens to horsewhip his tutor, *Frimousse*, whom he suspects of complicity in his wife's removal. He is consoled, however, by the *Chevalier de Montbarry*, who acquaints him with the fact that he is to assume command of the Parthenay regiment, and may lead it to action whenever he pleases. The duke, of course, resolves to lead it at once against the convent and recover his bride. We have then some very amusing scenes in the convent, where *Frimousse* has been appointed Latin tutor to the young ladies who are being "finished" by the worthy directress, the *Marquise de Lansac*. The duke, disguised as a peasant girl, succeeds in effecting an entrance, and, by making love to *Frimousse*, in obtaining an interview with the *Duchess*. He is, however, compelled to beat a retreat, and just about this time war is declared, and the services of his regiment are needed at the front. In the battle which ensues the young colonel distinguishes himself, and in the end the king gives his permission for the duke and his wife to live together. There may be some doubt under what head this opera properly falls. At Booth's it is called a "comic opera," a classification which at once relieves it of the suspicion of impropriety which the word "bouffe" seems to imply; and, indeed, in the English version there is not a word to call a blush to the cheek of the most modest. The acting of the *Duke* and *Duchess* (Miss Florence Ellis and Mlle. Louise Beaudet) was very good, and their singing very fair, though their voices are not powerful enough for such a large theatre as Booth's. Mme. Bauman as the *Directress* and Mr. W. H. Macdonald as *Montbarry* both sang extremely well. All the choruses, too, were well given, and on the whole, as is usually the case with an English company, there was more good singing than one would probably hear from a French company of the same order. Yet, as compared with any probable representation of "*Le Petit Duc*" by a French troupe, the performance at Booth's is undeniably a little flat. With these reservations, "*The Little Duke*" is decidedly worth hearing. The airs and choruses, of which the opera is full, struck us, on a first hearing, as prettier than any that even Lecocq has hitherto written.

—Among the musical events of the past week Mr. Pinner's and Dr. Damrosch's fourth concert of chamber music and Mr. Carlberg's fifth symphony concert at Chickering Hall deserve the first mention. The chamber-music concert at the Union League Club Theatre contained two numbers that are new to New York concert-goers—a suite for violin and piano-forte by Carl Goldmark and "Thème original et variations" by Tchaikoffsky. The Goldmark suite is a very melodious composition, and so clear in conception and execution that it cannot fail to be appreciated on a first hearing. It was performed in excellent style by Messrs. Pinner and Damrosch. The Tchaikoffsky variations were played by Mr. Pinner in his best manner. For delicacy of touch, an intelligent and truly artistic and poetical interpretation of modern piano-forte music, this young artist has been without a rival this season. Schumann's Trio in D minor was the most interesting number of the programme. —The symphony concert at Chickering Hall on Saturday presented compositions of Händel and Haydn, the overture to Mendelssohn's "*Midsummer Night's Dream*," a piano-forte concerto of Beethoven, and Wagner's "*Faust Overture*." Miss Josephine Bates, a very charming young pianist, made the bold venture of introducing herself to the New York public with Beethoven's C minor concerto. She has an excellent method and plays with graceful and refined taste, but is entirely wanting in the power and understanding necessary for such a work. The "*Faust Overture*" received a spirited and brilliant rendering by Mr. Carlberg's orchestra. —Colonel Mapleson's company presented nothing during the past week that calls for any special mention. Madame Gerster delighted her audience in "*La Sonnambula*" and "*I Puritani*," and Miss Hawk made her last appearance in "*Faust*." Marchetti's "*Ruy Blas*" was given a second time, and does not improve upon acquaintance. Were it not for Signor Campanini's and Signor Galassi's admirable acting and singing, this worthless and commonplace work would prove a complete failure.

—We regret to record the sudden death last week of Mr. James Black Hodgskin, a prominent financier of this city, and an unattached journalist whose writings were held in high esteem and were not confined to any one medium. For five years (1867-71) he was a constant and voluminous editorial contributor to the *Nation*, chiefly on financial and economical subjects, his great merit being a singular clearness of style, joined to an easy mastery of statistics and an originality always striking and provo-

cative of useful discussion. He possessed a very ardent temperament, somewhat liable to extremes, but great transparency of character and an earnest and sincere spirit. His father was an English economist of distinction, his mother a native of Germany. Mr. Hodgskin was born in London, and died in the forty-eighth year of his age.

—The *Deutsche Rundschau* for March has an interesting article by Karl Hillebrand on "Halbbildung und Gymnasialreform" (Semi-Culture and the Reform of the Gymnasium)—a theme which, in preceding numbers of that periodical, has been more or less directly treated by Lasker, Du Bois-Reymond, and Fr. Kreyssig. The characteristic feature of all these articles and of various notable publications in the same field (such as H. Bonitz's "Ueber die Reform unseres höheren Schulwesens" in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Fr. Nietzsche's "Menschliches, Allzumenschliches," Paul de Lagarde's "Deutsche Schriften") is a pronounced dissatisfaction with the state of popular education in Germany; but while the writers agree as to the disease, they differ widely as to the remedy. Thus, while Fr. Kreyssig sought the panacea in a higher kind of *Realschule*, and Du Bois-Reymond insisted upon a thorough cultivation by the gymnasium of mathematics and the natural sciences, to the detriment, if necessary, of the study of Greek and history, Hillebrand would advance the cause of education by restricting rather than expanding the sphere of the gymnasium. He would reduce the hours of study both in school and at home, and exclude the ancient languages from the first three years of the course, devoting the time gained to recitations from the Bible and German poetry, and bestowing great attention on the grammar and orthography of the mother-tongue. In the first three years the instruction should chiefly tend to the exercise of the memory. During that time he would teach in history mainly dates, in geography mere names—ignoring physical geography entirely—and in zoölogy and botany the simplest classifications. With the introduction of Latin and Greek in the higher classes he, too, would restore mathematics to its rightful place among the disciplinary sciences, leaving henceforth exercises in German style to private zeal. He would find no place in the gymnasium for the inculcation of religious doctrines or for ecclesiastical history, and would even in profane history dwell only on the more important epochs. Briefly, a mathematico-classical training is to enable the student to select with intelligence his further studies, and to infuse him with the "courage of his ignorance," as infinitely preferable to the pretensions of semi-culture. He asks whether a youth of eighteen, possessed of the knowledge which such a training had furnished to Pascal when he left school, would not be sufficiently equipped for all the exigencies of our times.

—This writer has evidently but little hope of seeing the gymnasium remodelled on his plan, but he sees no reason why the spirit of association, so active in Germany, should not imitate the English precedent in this respect and establish schools—the "Nationalschule" of the future—where theories could be practised which he thinks are shared by many of those dissatisfied with the present régime. The article is, however, far from breathing the pessimistic spirit so prevalent in Germany. In fact, Herr Hillebrand sees neither in her political nor in her economic condition sufficient reasons for a dissatisfaction which he considers partly as inborn in the German mind, partly as the result of a national vanity wounded by persistent misrepresentations of the German character. He admits that Germany is to-day the "best hated" country in Europe—that indeed she never understood the art of making herself liked. There was nothing in the manner of her unification that struck the popular fancy of Europe as did the unification of Italy; nor did her quiet, methodical way of conquering impress the world as did the theatrical show of the Napoleonic conquests. But even the Graces, Herr Hillebrand hopes, will bestow on the German of the future the gifts denied the German of the past.

—The *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* was started last year as an organ of the new science of Comparative Jurisprudence; it is published at Stuttgart, and edited by Prof. Bernhöft, of Rostock, and Dr. Cohn, of Heidelberg. Three *hefte* appeared in the course of the year, making a volume of 492 pages, containing eleven articles and three critical notices. The introductory article, by Bernhöft, "Ueber Zweck und Mittel der vergleichenden Rechtswissenschaft," gives in a brief compass the main results of the comparative study of law as applied to the Aryan nations; this will be found especially serviceable to students of early Roman law and institutions. The important subject of the condition of women in primitive times receives light from an article by Prof. Paul Roth, "Das deutsche eheliche Güterrecht"; it starts with the fact,

established by the researches of Schröder and Martitz, that the earliest German law recognizes the full proprietorship of the wife in her own property, only under the guardianship of the husband. From this the article is mainly devoted to following out the twofold development of German law, the Frankish and the Saxon. Another interesting subject is the history and law of Checks, discussed in two articles by the editor, Dr. Cohn; this not merely touches economical questions of the present day but reaches back even into classical times. The philosophy of law receives attention in an article upon the conception of law, by Prof. Bekker, and the *Systematik* of Indian law, by Prof. Jolly. Another equally high authority, Prof. Brunner, has an article upon the power of attorney in the Middle Ages.

HAMERTON'S LIFE OF TURNER.*

IT will hardly be in the nineteenth century that the erratic, eccentric, and unique genius of J. M. W. Turner will receive its due position in the Walhalla of the Muses. He is still too new to enable us to gauge if he is to be the founder of a new phase of art or to remain an isolated phenomenon, a splendid *usus natura* whose uses to the future shall be rather to measure distances from than approximations towards what he has done. All about him is exceptional. Artistic talent of the exceptionally high order which his undoubtedly is, is never to be measured by popular opinion. It has before happened to men to attain undeserved eminence, but perhaps never before to have attained it on one ground and merited it on an entirely different one. His real greatness, like that of all other extraordinary intellects, remains, and will always remain, caviare to the general. The clamorous reputation that attaches to his name is so far different from that which really belongs to him that an intelligent student of art, forming his estimate of the work of Turner by the literary standard which has been established, finds himself on first making acquaintance with the pictures quite disenchanted. It is not so much that his artistic power has been overestimated as that it has been utterly misstated, and is misunderstood. While in reality the most creative of landscapists, the farthest removed from the actual or veracious in any sense in which that word can be applied to delineation of the material world, he has received the reputation of being the truest.

The Turner of fact, of sober criticism, is more wonderful than, and as great as, the Turner of 'Modern Painters,' but very different. Ruskin's poetic tendencies, his intense imaginative sympathy, and subtle though wayward and fantastic analytic faculties, were accompanied by rhetorical powers which have few parallels in our language, and a one-sidedness of advocacy which has none; but not by adequate powers of comparison or calmness of judgment, nor (at the time when his plea for Turner committed him to the general line of argument he has since been obliged to follow) by a wide acquaintance with, nor catholic views of, modern art, while even to this day his technical education remains so incomplete, and his knowledge of technical processes and qualities so imperfect, that he remains the most untrustworthy critic as to the merits or demerits of particular works of art who has ever exercised an influence on public taste. The result of all his teaching has been to establish a school of art whose precepts are opposed to all the laws of art, and to put as its chief exemplar a painter who continually defied all the rules the founder of the school has laid down. Ruskin has not made Turner too great, but he has done him the grave injustice of putting him on a pedestal that did not belong to him, and from which sound criticism and time must take him down to put him on another not inferior, but far removed from the former one.

This work is undertaken in a thoughtful, discriminating, and completely appreciative spirit in the biography of Mr. Hamerton, and in a manner which shows not less knowledge of Turner than Ruskin's, but far greater judicial power, much truer comparative estimate of Turner's genius and qualities, more just and larger objective perception of nature, and last, but far from least, a knowledge of the technique of landscape-painting and sound art-training incomparably greater than Ruskin's. Of course his Life must in many points assume the character of a polemic against Ruskin, because the correction of the false ideal was necessary to the delineation of the true; but the book is remarkably free from all heat of discussion or discoloration of advocacy. It is in every respect a contrast to the 'Modern Painters'; and whatever estimate be hereafter established as the permanent conception of the relative position of the great landscape painter, it is safe to say that it must embody in substance the judgment pronounced by Hamerton.

* 'Life of J. M. W. Turner. By Philip Gilbert Hamerton.' Boston: Roberts Bros. 1879.

The impeachments of Ruskin's plea for Turner are not, therefore, on account of his overestimating the painter, for the younger critic does not yield to the elder in his general estimate, but to two points in that plea, both of which he abundantly confutes, viz., that Turner aimed at truth in his pictures, and that he was an under-esteemed and neglected painter when Ruskin undertook his defence. The second point was easily made; the facts as to Turner's position when the 'Modern Painters' appeared are within the memory of many living amateurs. We quote the pith of what Mr. Hamerton says on the subject (pp. 330-331):

"We all know how kindly Turner was encouraged when a young man, how well and how early he was received in the Academy [full Academician at twenty-seven], and how he enjoyed the friendship and sympathy of intelligent men such as Lord Egremont, Mr. Rogers, and many others, at a time when he was in the full enjoyment of his powers. Now it suited Mr. Ruskin's artistic purpose—at the close of a lecture in Edinburgh, which was to be very pathetic and awaken deep feeling in the hearts of his audience—to say, in order to prepare the people for the sad account of Turner's death, that he had incurred neglect until late in life. Even this mild assertion would have been untrue. The exact truth is that Turner was not neglected during life, but that in his case, as in many other cases, the fame of the artist when living was less splendid than it has since become. But now observe how Mr. Ruskin 'forces the note.' He does not simply say that Turner was comparatively neglected; that would not be enough—the audience would feel no thrill. These are the words used:

"Imagine what it was for a man to live seventy years in this hard world, with the kindest heart and the noblest intellect of his time, and never to meet with a single word or ray of sympathy until he felt himself sinking into his grave. From the time he knew his true greatness all the world was turned against him; he held his own, but it could not be without roughness of bearing and hardening of the temper, if not of the heart. No one understood him, no one trusted him, and every one cried out against him. Imagine, any of you, the effect upon your own minds if every voice that you heard from the human beings around you were raised, year after year, through all your lives, only in condemnation of your efforts and denial of your success."

"This passage is admirable as an appeal to the feelings. It is the work of a consummate artist in words, and so deeply pathetic that if well delivered in the lecture-room it must have touched the hearts of men and moistened the eyes of women. I admit and admire its excellence, but I say that whilst Mr. Ruskin was writing it, and during the whole space of time between the writing and delivery of the lecture, the critic in him must have been silenced or asleep.

"Many years before Turner died there was not a great meeting at Somerset House, attended by Sir Robert Peel, Lord Hardinge, and many others? and did not all these gentlemen confer upon Turner the very exceptional and very substantial compliment of subscribing five thousand pounds to buy two pictures of his for the National Gallery? . . . Did not Lockhart, a very influential Scotchman, express his opinion publicly a year or two later [i.e., 1814 or '15] that Turner was simply the greatest of all living landscape-painters? Was not Turner selected to illustrate the greatest contemporary poets? and did not Scott (who died in 1832) say that Turner was 'all the fashion'—so much the fashion, indeed, that by sheer weight of reputation he was imposed on the great novelist against his will? Did not Constable write on the 14th of January, 1832: 'I remember most of Turner's early works; amongst them was one of singular intricacy and beauty—it was a canal with numerous boats, making thousands of beautiful shapes, and I think the most complete work of genius I ever saw'?"

"All this was intended to prepare Mr. Ruskin's hearers for a most touching and pathetic account of Turner's death:

"He received no consolation in his last years nor in his death. Cut off in great part from all society—first by labor and at last by sickness—hunted to the grave by the malignities of small critics and the jealousies of hopeless rivalry—he died in the house of a stranger—one companion of his life, and one only, staying with him to the last."

We cannot follow Mr. Hamerton in his refutation of this "pathetic fallacy." Those who know anything of the later years of Turner's life know that in all this touching picture there is not one correct statement of fact. Turner died in lodgings he had long had in Chelsea, and he was accustomed to hide there from his friends, who were many and devoted to him with enthusiasm. He was idolized by the whole Royal Academy, and many of the Academicians would have disputed the privilege of watching by his sick bed. Hundreds of houses of all classes, from that of a peer to that of a country curate, would gladly have given him hospitality in health or sickness; but he repulsed, and often rudely, all attempts of any but two or three of his oldest friends to approach him, and for a long time it was unknown where his hiding-place in Chelsea was. He died worth above £100,000, and left pictures besides which he might have sold before his death for as much more. For the "Old Téméraire" alone he had refused first an offer of £5,000, and after that, from the same amateur, a blank check! The fact is that there was never an English artist, with the exception, perhaps, of Landseer, who had been so greatly praised (and none who had been so much abused except Haydon), there was not one so highly esteemed by that class of society whose appreciation is the basis of all solid reputation, none so widely known amongst living landscape painters and so much engraved, as Turner at the moment when Ruskin wrote 'Modern Painters.'

The other point of the author's indictment of Ruskin—his erroneous teaching as to Turner's veraciousness—involves the whole question of Turner's relation to nature. Mr. Hamerton, as a painter of experience and a student of art in its best technical schools, judges the work of the great master pencil in hand before the scene he painted, and shows, what all who have taken the pains to do the same will have learned for themselves, that Turner had the most supreme contempt for everything that inclined to topography, that in his architecture he habitually misrepresented the characteristic features of the buildings he painted, that in his effects he took the most unlimited licenses, while as to his color the whole story is told in brief in the following passage:

"If the reader will imagine Turner as a supremely clever executant in water-color who played with his orange and purple, his red and green, his washes of cool gray to refresh the eye and his touches of burning scarlet to excite it, just as a musical composer will combine the effects of the various instruments in an orchestra, he will, I sincerely believe, not be very far from a just appreciation of his work."

This is, in fact, the general law as to Turner's work, and, *mutatis mutandis*, the criticism may be applied to his composition, his geology, his topography, his botany, and even his meteorology. There is not in the whole range of Turner's study (and we speak from long personal study) one sketch or drawing which shows that he could or cared to match a tint of nature or, so far as any important feature is concerned, a piece of form, natural or artificial. His early work is purely conventional, and is simple modulation of grey, cooler and warmer, and, as the power grew, the range of orchestration extended, not by reference to nature, but by experience of art, till it had reached the range of the "Slaver" and the even more splendid (because better technically) water-colors like the "Goldau and Lucerne."

Mr. Hamerton does full justice to the unrivalled power in certain ways which Turner showed, and if his admiration for him is less eloquent than that of Ruskin it is at least as learned. He might have gone further with his demonstration of the painter's deviation from the standard of truth which Ruskin has set up for him. A large proportion, indeed, of the effects which Ruskin notes as truths never told by any other painter are simply daring licenses and flagrant violations of nature. He gives a list of mingled effects of moonlight and sunlight, when the fact is that the full moon an hour after sunset has not power enough to throw a perceptible shadow in the face of the western sky; he calls to witness the glory of sunset skies like those of the "Slaver," "Napoleon," and "Old Téméraire," having apparently never noticed that the sunset colors with which those pictures are glowing never appear till the sun is below the horizon, while Turner puts them around the sun half an hour high. Nor has time convinced him of his mistake, for in the collection of Turner drawings exhibited last year in London by Mr. Ruskin there was one—"Leicester Abbey"—in which a golden sunset occupied the right of the picture (spectator's right), while at the left rises amidst the blue mists of evening the full moon, both sun and moon being included in the picture—a magnificent drawing, however, in every way, and the transition from the golden glow of the sun to the blue night coming on under the moon was a marvel of management of color. One was curious to see what Ruskin could have to say of this splendid defiance of nature. The note is this: "The sunset and moonrise are not meant to be actually contemporaneous. Strictly this is two pictures in one, and we are expected to think of the whole as a moving diorama"!!

As biography the 'Life of Turner' is meagre, because Turner furnished no materials for biography and left no letters or journals, one of his most curious characteristics being his utter and ineradicable illiterateness; he had no power of expressing himself connectedly in words. Even in speaking to people he used only the words which were absolutely necessary, eking them out with nods and gestures so that to a stranger he was sometimes scarcely intelligible. But so far as the artist is concerned Mr. Hamerton has given a sober, full, and invaluable analysis of what we most want to know of him, which is at the same time one of the most valuable pieces of æsthetic writing that English literature has produced, a careful, sincere, and fully appreciative commentary on the most difficultly understood painter of our and perhaps of any day.

MALLESON'S INDIAN MUTINY OF 1857-1858.*

TO exhibit very recent history in its genuine aspect, or even as it will be exhibited eventually, is acknowledged to rank among impossibilities. Of the achievements and miscarriages which so largely constitute

* History of the Indian Mutiny, 1857-1858. By Colonel G. B. Malleison, C.S.I., author of 'History of the French in India.' 'Historical Sketch of the Native States of India,' etc., etc. Volume I. London: William H. Allen & Co. 1878.

it, the former are all but inevitably magnified by flattery or enthusiasm; while the latter are sure to be extenuated by their authors or by their authors' vindicators, and, at the same time, countless prejudicial facts, essential towards interpreting them aright, are sedulously withheld from publicity. As to the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the difficulties thus indicated which, not to name others, beset a conclusive appreciation of it, are not as yet by any means wholly obviated by the operation of time. It may be, indeed, that the reminiscences of numerous actors in transactions which date only two and twenty years ago still await disclosure, and, in some cases, are still unrecorded. Every due allowance being made for this and kindred considerations, it is, however, highly expedient, in the interests of justice, that we should be put in early possession, as in the work before us, of a corrective to so exceedingly one-sided and misleading a performance as the fragmentary 'History of the Sepoy War' of the late Sir John Kaye.

For substantial reasons Colonel Malleon, departing from chronological order, narrates in his first volume those events to which Sir John Kaye devotes his third. But the events in question are, almost one and all, of prominent importance, and, besides, endure very well to be treated of by themselves. A more impartial detail of them than has hitherto been accessible is, therefore, most welcome; and so it would be though we were not supplied with the brief but lucid sketch of their antecedents with which the author dexterously prefaces them.

Within a very narrow compass, Colonel Malleon conveys to us a vivid idea of the character of Lord Canning, Governor-General of India at the critical period referred to. Well-meaning, but timid, lethargic, and injudicious, he had the ill-fortune to place himself wholly at the disposal of men as ill-qualified as was well possible to direct him aright. Foremost among these delusive advisers and guides were Mr. Secretary Beadon and Lieutenant-Governor Halliday. As is obvious to observe, their counsels were such as might have been expected from favored members of an official fraternity in which, at least in the days of the East-India Company, promotion was perhaps oftener due to adroit courtiership than bestowed as the reward of desert. Blinded by those who had him under their control, Lord Canning was long reluctant to be convinced, even when omens were most unfavorable in every direction, that serious danger was impending. When, too, his eyes were at last couched, many of his measures were in the last degree unwise. An instance here in point is seen in his action with regard to the Indian newspapers. The native press, encouraged by the apparently frail tenure of English domination, had, it is true, become daringly disloyal in its utterances, and demanded to be dealt with rigorously. But nothing could be more loyal than the English press of India; and yet Lord Canning did not hesitate to gag both presses by one and the same edict, on the flimsy plea, to quote his own language, that he could "see no solid standing-ground upon which a line can be drawn marking off one from the other." At the time, it was asserted, very naturally, and there is some foundation for believing, that his real motive was to forestall, if he but could, the transmission to England of any printed record of his own and his subordinates' mistakes. Among his misfortunes, possibly, rather than among his faults, was his appointment of Sir Patrick Grant as temporary commander-in-chief. However, except for the combination of inactivity and self-distrust which Sir Patrick evinced, there is no saying for what disasters he might not have made himself responsible. As it turned out, it was solely owing to his being what he was, and doing as he did, that an opportunity was afforded to the gallant and energetic Havelock of coming to the front, and of paving the way to successes which have served to inscribe his name for ages in the bead-roll of illustrious soldiers.

Of the rising at Patna, and of its suppression, a circumstantial narrative is presented to us; and the proceedings of its commissioner are detailed with all desirable distinctness and fidelity. The gentleman here adverted to is Mr. William Tayler. That the course which he pursued was the most sagacious that was practicable under then existing circumstances scarcely any one doubted at the moment, and scarcely any one has doubted since. Had he obeyed Mr. Halliday, already mentioned, the result might have been signally calamitous. But he chose, in the public behoof, to act on his own judgment; and for so doing, though his efforts, and in a most perilous emergency, were crowned with success, he exposed himself to Mr. Halliday's implacable animosity. By misrepresentations, groundless and scandalous innuendoes, and divers other unworthy devices, Mr. Halliday contrived to procure his expulsion from the civil service. To the discredit of the India Office, as of various governor-generals, his wrongs are still unredressed, whereas his vindictive oppressor has been rewarded

with honors and high office. The matter here outlined is one which contributes a humiliating page to the history of modern India.

The heroic defence of Arrah, and the masterly way in which its garrison was relieved by Major Vincent Eyre, are told with spirit, and can hardly be read without exciting warm admiration of all that were concerned in them.

Owing to the arrival of the new commander-in-chief, Sir Colin Campbell, the official career of Sir Patrick Grant was, happily, of but short duration. Had Lord Canning's recommendation been acted on, the latter would have been confirmed in the appointment which he was filling provisionally; but Lord Palmerston, being better advised, most sensibly made election of the former. Credit must, however, be allowed to Lord Canning for his exceptional manifestation of good sense in deputing, as his civil plenipotentiary for a considerable portion of the northwest provinces, the ablest man, by far, that he had about him, Mr. J. P. Grant. The lieutenant-governor of those provinces, Mr. J. R. Colvin, was then, by reason of the mutiny, isolated at Agra, and died soon afterwards. Though a person of acknowledged ability in the sphere of civil avocations, and in a time of quiet, he was but ill-provided with the nerve, decision, and tact which are indispensable for coping with a popular uprising.

Well-nigh inevitably, if not altogether so, the subject-matters of Colonel Malleon's volume are not always treated by him in strict chronological succession. These, far from descending on them, we can only enumerate succinctly. From the point indicated in the preceding paragraph they are as follows: Scindhia, a powerful native chieftain near Agra, casts in his lot with the British. Holkar, his brother magnate further to the south, shows himself equally loyal, though the troops about him display impatience of their foreign masters. The massacre of Jhansee, a tale rife with horrors, is recounted. Rajpootana, thanks to the prudent measures concerted by Colonel George Lawrence, remains pacific. Affairs at and in the neighborhood of Agra are recorded. An account is given of the mutinies in the districts represented by the stations of Aligurh, Mainporee, Etawah, and Bolundshuhr. Out of the 575 pages which the volume contains 199 are appropriated to Oude, and yet there is no ground to complain here of diffuseness or superfluity. Wherever the mother-tongue shall be English, many a generation must yet elapse before the noble exploits of Sir Henry Lawrence and General Havelock, as set forth by any well-informed and skilful writer, will cease to command enthralled attention and to stimulate martial ambition.

But we have nearly exhausted the space which we can assign to the book before us. Colonel Malleon is executing, in a manner deserving marked commendation, the task which he has set himself. His research is untiring, and his love of his subject amounts to a passion. The equitableness of his judgments will rarely be challenged. Praise and blame he distributes very freely, indeed; but he is judiciously careful, while awarding his verdicts, to justify them to the full; and his discrimination of character, in introducing or dismissing the various actors whom he brings on the scene, is marked by equal sagacity and thoroughness. Though a warm eulogist of sterling worth and merit, he leans, unquestionably, to the side of lenity, when called upon, as he is ever and anon, to arraign and stigmatize incompetence. Taking account of his long Indian experience, and, in the just words of the *London Times*, of his being recognized as one of the masters of Indian history, one would, almost without further evidence, have warrant for calculating on his so telling the story of the Indian mutiny as to dispense with the need of its being told at length again. Nor does his beginning disappoint this expectation, but, on the contrary, leads us to anticipate, in the completed result of his undertaking, a work of conspicuous value, and, with reference to available information, of irrefragable authority.

Artist Biographies. Allston. (Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1879.)—It is sad irony to gather up and put into a book the contemporary praises of a man whose reputation, once great in a narrow circle, has failed to extend far beyond that circle's limits. To collect with painstaking industry the affectionate hyperboles of friends, together with what their memories have treasured of the pretty phrases of polite acquaintances or indulgent critics, in such a case deepens regret and aggravates distrust, and when all this is unaccompanied by any critical reservation or any hint of its extravagance, it is unjust to a man's memory. Allston, as much as any other, would have resented this volume, called his biography, which, beyond being a record of the facts of his life, is little more than a string of the compliments paid him, with a critical commentary unmarked by any sobriety of judgment or intelligent insight

into Allston's worth. The author leaves the impression that he thinks William Ware was right in saying that "in the great Venetian (Titian) I had found nothing more true, nothing more beautiful, nothing more perfect than I had already seen in Allston"; and Coleridge right in saying "Washington Allston, a painter born to renew the fifteenth century"; and Lord Napier, of Merchiston, right in speaking of "the incomparable pencil of Allston." He seems to see a compliment, too, in Southey's remark to Collins on Allston's poems: "Whatever defects some of them may have, he had no hesitation in saying that they could not have proceeded from any but a poetic mind: in which sentiment," Collins adds, "he was cordially supported by Wordsworth." But it is not so much when the author is sifting the worth of other men's words as when he himself becomes the critic that his true penetration and the value of his information become clear, as a few sentences will show without need of comment: "He avoided bright eyes, curls, and contours. . . . The stilted allegorical compositions of the schools of West and Fuseli. . . . The sharp manifestations of passionate life are veiled in an atmosphere of divine glow and profound mystery, inviting the study of the most reflective and contemplative of men. . . . If beauty can exist without expression, it finds no more perfect exemplification than Allston's 'Rosalie' and 'Beatrice,' not even in Leonardo's 'Mona Lisa' or Raphael's 'Fornarina.'" This last is a sufficiently marvellous sentence in art criticism, but it is surpassed by the following in literary criticism, where the author is fooled to the top of his bent in describing Allston's mock-heroic poem, "The Paint King," a most extravagant, disagreeable, and in parts offensive production, as "a fancy as wild surely and as well wrought out as any Hawthorne ever dreamed of."

These extracts illustrate well enough the nature of the criticism in this volume, but the narrative also is in parts amusing; we were really startled at the society which our author, with a daring disregard of time and place seldom equalled, provides for Allston in Rome from 1805-9. He mentions among the men who were to be seen there at that time, and whom presumably Allston may have met, Cornelius, who arrived in 1811; Andersen, at that time a babe a month or two old, who first saw Rome in 1834; Flaxman, who had left Rome in 1794; Gibson, who arrived in 1817; Shelley, who was then a child at Eton; Byron, who, a boy of seventeen, had just matriculated at Cambridge, and was guiltless of the "Hours of Idleness" for three years more, and Keats, who, nine years old, was most likely to have been playing in the stables where his father worked a few months before. Two only of those mentioned by the author in this paragraph were there, Thorwaldsen and Louis of Bavaria, who was a youth of nineteen. Later he speaks of the brilliant circle which surrounded William and Alexander von Humboldt; the latter was in Rome in 1805 for ten days with Gay-Lussac. With this instance of the most culpable ignorance we may dismiss the author and his book in peace.

Of Allston it would be worth while to say more than our limits allow, for his artistic merits have never been properly discriminated, and his literary performance is well-nigh unknown. His great reputation in art was due to much the same causes as Irving's in literature, and its correction has been similar; like Irving, too, he possessed rare and charming personal qualities, which won for him an admiration and affection of considerable influence in determining the regard in which his works were held. In imaginative literature he was the most noteworthy follower of that romantic and grandiose school which Monk Lewis founded by turning into English channels a stream from the Storm-and-Stress period of German literature, and which was continued by Mrs. Radcliffe, from whose novels Allston took subjects for his pencil. Many of Allston's poems are purely from this source, as is the conception and much of the execution of his single novel, "Monaldi." On the other hand, one would be justified in saying that Coleridge furnished him with the forms of his religious conceptions and with all his metaphysics, as any one may satisfy himself by reading the 'Lectures on Art.' He was moulded intellectually by European influences, and under these his nature was mainly passive. Hence in literature, in which he had only talent, he gave us little that will be preserved for its own merit: in art, in which he had veins of real genius, he gave us some work which we would not willingly let die, but it is frequently defective. We are told that in correcting the entire perspective of the great picture of "Belshazzar's Feast" he made over "twenty thousand chalk-lines in circles and arcs to bring the amended figures into correct drawing"; he would not have done this had he possessed the unerring artistic conception and direct rapid executive force of those painters of the fifteenth century whom he was ignorantly set up by his friends to rival. It is now indisputable that he fell far

short of his own hopes, and failed to justify the expectations which his genius had rightly raised.

Bacon's Novum Organum. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, etc., by Thomas Fowler, M.A. Clarendon Press Series. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1878.)—Hume, in the sixth volume of his 'History of England' (pp. 194, 5), in discussing the position of Bacon in the history of English thought, says:

"If we consider the variety of talents displayed by this man: as a public speaker, a man of business, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philosopher: he is justly the object of great admiration. If we consider him merely as an author and philosopher, the light in which we view him at present, though very estimable, he was yet inferior to his contemporary Galileo, perhaps even to Kepler. . . . The national spirit which prevails among the English, and which forms their great happiness, is the cause why they bestow on all their eminent writers, and on Bacon among the rest, such praises and acclamations as may often appear partial and excessive."

Buckle, in his examination of the Scotch intellect during the eighteenth century, cites this as "grossly unfair," and explains it on the theory that the essential difference between the respective methods pursued in their investigations made it impossible for Hume to sympathize with or understand Bacon. Bacon is to-day probably much more often talked about than read, and we fancy that most general readers still derive all their knowledge of him from Macaulay's delightful essay (though for those who go into the subject with any thoroughness, Mr. Spedding is, of course, a higher authority). For a purely popular account of his career as a public man, and an examination of the once mooted question of his corruption, it is difficult to imagine that Macaulay can ever be improved upon; but on the subject of philosophy he was hardly an authority, and that part of his essay which is devoted to the Baconian method, though deeply interesting, has never seemed to us as satisfactory as the biographical part. A defender of Hume against Buckle's criticism might cite many passages of it, perhaps, as instances of those "praises and acclamations" which arise from the national spirit of which he speaks. Mr. Fowler's profound introduction to the present edition of the *Novum Organum* is an essay as different from Macaulay's as possible. It is intended, as he says in his preface, to supply a want which has undoubtedly often been felt by students, namely, "A commentary, which, besides explaining the difficulties of the work (by no means few or small), should also present Bacon in his relations to the History of Philosophy, Logic, and Science." The commentary, of course, is one into which Mr. Fowler, as a logician, allows nothing but the dry light of the intellect to penetrate, and it is quite safe to say (without entering into any criticism) that his conclusions as to Bacon's position in the history of thought may be taken as authoritative. It is interesting to find that the scientific position he accords to Bacon is not lower than that which has been popularly assigned to him as founder or father of experimental philosophy. It is hardly necessary to add that as an annotated edition of the *Novum Organum*, Professor Fowler's volume is worthy of the press from which it is issued.

Manuel du Voyageur. Par D. Kaltbrunner, Membre de la Société de Géographie de Genève. (Zürich. 1878. New York: B. Westermann & Co.)—The author states that the design of this 'Traveller's Hand-book' is to bring within the compass of a single volume the suggestions and instructions which will be found useful by any one who wishes to travel as an observer. He assumes that the traveller's aim should be to increase our knowledge of the country he visits, and offers to show him what and how to observe, in order to secure the best possible results. Nor are the qualifications requisite for a good observer passed unnoticed; among these are named and discussed the ability to observe natural phenomena, and its habitual exercise; the spirit of investigation and enquiry; the critical faculty; and various "qualités et aptitudes accessoires," such as pluck, endurance, and persistency. It should be remarked that the work is not written for any special class of tourists, or in the interest of any particular lines of research, but that it undertakes to cover the entire range of subjects which may present themselves to any intelligent and thoughtful observer, whatever his bent of mind may be—to omit, in short, no essential particular and to put the matter in such manner that any one may understand it. A glance at the table of contents will show not only the comprehensiveness of the author's plan, but also the thoroughness with which he has pursued the subject to the most minute of multifarious details. Upwards of a hundred pages are devoted to the preparation required for successful observations—the part of the book in which

the intending traveller is taught *how* to observe, including details of equipment and supply, use of various scientific instruments, photography, drawing, etc. The bulk of the volume, however, is occupied with extended and systematically arranged indications of *what* to observe, relating, as already intimated, to an extraordinarily varied range of subjects. Under the first head, "Le pays," for example, are treated geography, topography, geology, the soil, climate, hydrology, flora, and fauna. The second division, "Les habitants," is still more exhaustive; one who should acquaint himself with the varied aspects of the case as presented by the author would become an accomplished historian and ethnographer of the people visited. The work seems to us to be prepared with great care and conscience, as well as with much learning and experience, and to be as successful in execution as admirable in design. If the author be as exact and reliable in all departments as we have found him to be in those in which we have tested him by our own experience in travelling, he is certainly a guide whom no one may hesitate to trust implicitly. His instructions, always practical and to the point, are frequently very pithy, suggesting a very long and familiar acquaintance with the requirements, obstacles, and purposes of productive travel; while the advantage of being told beforehand what to look out for and how to see it, is too obvious to require comment. We suspect that no one ever did or could accomplish as much as Kaltbrunner would put the ideal traveller in the way of doing, unless he were a Humboldt or a Darwin; but such riches as he offers, it will be remembered, cease to be embarrassing when divided among tourists of all countries and all tastes. The foreign dress of the work will doubtless restrict its usefulness in this country, until an English translation be made, as certainly should and probably will be done. A companion volume, entitled "Aide-mémoire du Voyageur," is announced to appear soon.

Epochs of Modern History. The Normans in Europe. By the Rev. A. H. Johnson, M.A. With Maps. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 18mo, pp. 273.)—Mr. Johnson is fortunate in his subject, and he has treated it in a manner worthy of it. One hardly realizes, until looking over his admirable table of contents, how much of the most fundamental history of the earlier Middle Ages is associated with this lordly race, and how complete a view of the condition of Europe at this epoch can be given in connection with its history. The most romantic events of this period, too, are associated with the Normans, and, in virtue of their great administrative and organizing capacity, almost every form of institutions then existing was touched and more or less modified by them. We have, therefore, chapters on the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon institutions, on Feudalism, and on the Norman administration. We only miss the ecclesiastical institutions; these receive a brief mention, excellent so far as it goes, but which might very well have been enlarged.

The chapters under consideration are remarkable for their clearness and accuracy, and by themselves form the best brief sketch of the institutions of this period with which we are acquainted. Here and there, it is true, we find slight inaccuracies or obscurities, to some of which we will call attention. The definition of *beneficia* (p. 97) is hardly in accordance with the best science; it seems proved by Roth that the *beneficia* of the Merovingian kings were absolute grants, the rewards of past services, not the condition of future; the "pledge of fidelity" was required of every subject, not of beneficiaries as such. We are told (p. 99) that "it had long been the custom of the kings to couple their grants of land with rights of independent judicature over the dwellers on the land." By "long" we must suppose the Merovingian times to be referred to, but no such grants as these were made until long after the time of Charles the Great; the ecclesiastical immunities of the seventh and eighth centuries granted no "independent judicature" at all. On page 111 the free socagers are defined as a class "who paid a fixed sum of money annually, and were exempt from all further service." Some of them, it is true; but as a rule the English socagers performed agricultural labor for their lords. The term, by the way, is not properly used in relation to Continental feudalism, for the existence and rights of this class are the one point in which English feudalism is most fundamentally contrasted with that of the Continent. On the same page the old classification of villeins regardant and in gross is far from adequate, and is given up by the best writers.

The chapter upon the Anglo-Saxon institutions contains very little to criticize. The powers of the township (p. 149) are stretched beyond what any clear evidence will justify; not, perhaps, beyond what may be fairly inferred, although this is by no means without controversy. Neither do we know what authority there is for the distinction made (p. 151) as to the procedure in criminal cases before the Shire Moot—ordeals if the pre-

sentment was made by the Hundred court, compurgation if by a private individual. The definition (p. 155) of "sac" (jurisdiction in matters of dispute) and "soc" (the right of holding courts for their personal and territorial dependants) may be called a distinction almost without a difference. It would, perhaps, be too much to expect an English writer to be acquainted with the results of American scholarship; but certainly Mr. Henry Adams appears to have disproved this definition of "soc."

The closing chapter, on the Norman Administration, is equally excellent. The statement (p. 241) that the freehold tenants of the manor occupied the tenemental lands, while the villeins were settled upon the demesne, is commonly made, but is incorrect, or at least incomplete. The principal part of the villeins occupied the lands of the *villata* or village (whence their name) alongside of the freeholders, and often intermixed with them. A portion of them, however, received allotments on the demesne, and these might be held by villeins, and even by freeholders, who at the same time held estates upon the tenement lands.

There is an index, six genealogical tables, and three excellent maps; but we do not understand why, in the map of "England and France in the time of Henry I.," the County of Toulouse is not given as a part of France. The Count of Toulouse was one of the six peers of France, and we are not aware that the suzerainty of the king over him was any more nominal than over, for instance, the Duke of Guyenne.

Gwen. A Drama in monologue. In six acts. By the author of "The Epic of Hades." (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.; Boston: Roberts Bros. 1879.)—In the seven years since the author of this poem first appeared before the public he has maintained his place as one of the most careful and elegant of minor English poets. His verse is musical, and his style is clear, temperate, and free from most of the conceits to which his school is especially prone. This drama, which is his third work, is named such only by a fancy; it has no action whatever, but is constructed, similarly to Tennyson's "Maud," with a series of monologues in irregular verse embodying the reflections or hopes of the hero and heroine, who are the only characters in the first five acts. The situation, also, is the same as in "Maud," except that the hero is of high birth and the heroine a country girl, so that a comparison between the two poems obtrudes itself upon the reader whether he wishes it or not, and this the more because distinct Tennysonian echoes recur on page after page. It is not plagiarism, but one cannot help doubting whether some phrases are altogether the author's own. To give illustrations which might be multiplied, we have

"And sometimes, rare blessing, there comes with me
A fair young Oread over the hill" (p. 36).
"I see my Oread coming down" ("Maud," xvi).
"Oh, strange we did not know before how near
Our stream of life smoothed to its fated end" (p. 55).
"Calming itself to the long-wished-for end" ("Maud," xviii).
"Take with a frolic eagerness the doubts" (p. 151).
"That ever with a frolic welcome took" ("Ulysses").

So, too, in the song of Gwen, when she throws the rose into the stream to float to her lover—

"Tell him, oh, sweet, sweet rose,
That I grow fixed no more, nor flourish now
In the silent maiden garden-ground of old,
But severed even as thou."

It is impossible not to remember

"Queen rose of the rosebud garden of girls" ("Maud," xxii).

The number of such echoes which, without looking for them, we detected in reading is far too large; sometimes a similar phrase of Browning or Clough came to our memory, but Tennyson is the poet's master. Many of them are, doubtless, coincidences; some are conscious expansions of the original thought, and some may have been appropriated as the common property of the poetic guild; but an author cannot deny himself too much in resisting such temptation.

The diction is at times faulty, and the music frequently; how does the author read this line, for example:

"And even to my high inn-chamber I seemed."

Some lines are in bad taste:

"It is only in thought I invade her virginal peace."

"Stately cities I have dreamed of,
Naples, Rome in all her pride—
I shall see them all, a great lady,
With my husband at my side."

The italicized words contain the only indication in the poem that

the thought of worldly advantage was in the heroine's mind as an element of happiness in her love, and is very incongruous with her simple affection and trustfulness: it may be natural, but it is vulgar. It is worth while to point out these defects in detail, for the poem is, as a whole, tender, simple, chaste in feeling, and occasionally it rises to a lyrical loftiness of sentiment, or grows compact with vigorous and direct thought.

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